

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI NIACT IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 2862

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), LI, US

SUBJECT: GOL MOOD ON EVE OF SECRETARY'S VISIT

FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

REF: A) STATE 099043 TOSEC 110030, B) MONROVIA 2814

1. RELATIONS BETWEEN U.S. AND LIBERIA ARE AT HIGH POINT AFTER A NADIR REPRESENTED BY FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS' UNPLEASANT REMARKS AT FOURTH OF JULY RECEPTION LAST YEAR. PRESENT HIGH POINTS DUE TO FOLLOWING FACTORS: SECRETARY'S VISIT ITSELF, INCREASED ACTIVITY IN AREA OF U.S. ASSISTANCE FOLLOWING KISSINGER-DENNIS CONVERSATION LAST SEPTEMBER AND PARKER VISIT LAST OCTOBER, PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S PLEASURE AND SATISFACTION WITH CONTINUING PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HIMSELF AND PRESIDENT FORD, AND AMBASSADOR CARTER'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEW EFFORTS TO FIND UNTAPPED AREAS OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT. PROVE OF FOREGOING APPRAISAL OF U.S.-LIBERIAN RELATIONS CAN BE SEEN IN PRESS COVERAGE OF VISIT SO FAR, NOTABLE NOT ONLY FOR ITS FAVORABLE TONE BUT ALSO FOR ITS HIGH VOLUME.

2. IMPORTANT FACTORS IN CORRENT SITUATION WHICH AFFECT WAY IN WHICH U.S. AND ITS POLICIES ARE SEEN INCLUDE FOLLOWING:

A. ON SINGLE MOST TRYING AFRICAN ISSUE IN RECENT PERIOD, ANGOLA, U.S. AND LIBERIA WERE COMPLETELY IN ACCORD. BOTH SOUGHT SOLUTION THROUGH SUPPORT OF OAU AND PREVENTION OF GREAT-POWER RIVALRY. GOL, HOPING FOR GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY IN ANGOLA, CONFIDENTIAL

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LOOKED WITH FAVOR ON ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION AND

WAS DISSAPPOINTED BY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO BAR U.S. EFFORT TO MAINTAIN BALANCE AMONG CONTENDING FACTIONS.

B. GOL IS AT INCEPTION OF FOUR YEAR PLAN FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IT WILL REQUIRE MUCH MORE IN RESOURCES THAN GOL IS LIKLY TO BE ABLE TO DEVELOP ON ITS OWN. THERE IS THEREFORE, IN LIBERIANS' PERCEPTION OF THEIR RELATIONS WITH U.S., A CERTAIN ELEMENT OF EXPECTANCY THAT U.S. WILL HELP IN COMING PERIOD OF IMPLEMENTATION OF PLAN TO MAKE UP FOR ANY SHORTFALL IN RESOURCES. THIS EXPECTANCY IS OF A PIECE WITH LONG-HELD LIBERIAN VIEWS THAT U.S., ANALOGOUS TO FORMER METROPOLE OF ADJOINING EX-COLONIES AND NEW STATES, NOT ONLY CAN BUT SHOULD STEP IN TO HELP LIBERIA OVER ROUGH SPOTS.)

C. WE ARE BEGINNING TO GET SIGNALS THAT GOL MAY BE BEGINNING TO PERCEIVE THAT BLIND ADHERENCE TO NONALIGNED (PERHAPS EVEN OAU) POSITIONS CAN PUT GOL IN BIND WITH U.S. LIBERIAN AMBIVALENCE ON KOREA QUESTION AT 30TH UNGA WE DO NOT BELIEVE WAS MATTER OF INADVERTENT FAILURE TO SEND APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS; AS FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL EXPLAINED AT TIME, BUT ONE OF GOL'S CHANGING FROM NEUTRAL POSITION (VOTING "YES" ON BOTH FRIENDLY AND HOSTILE RESOLUTIONS) TO POSITION IN LINE WITH OURS. IT ALSO SEEMS TO US THAT GOL IS SOMEWHAT DISCOMFITED BY ITS FAILURE TO EVALUATE PROPERLY U.S. SENSITIVITY TO PUERTO RICO QUESTION AT LIMA CONFERENCE LAST AUGUST, WHERE GOL DELEGATION SPOKE NEITHER FOR NOR AGAINST.

D. LIBERIANS HAVE REACTED VERY POSITIVELY TO U.S. BICENTENNIAL. THEY FEEL THEY ARE A PART OF HISTORY HONORED BY BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS AND CAN THEREFORE SHARE IN THEM. THEIR RESPONSE TO BICENTENNIAL-ORIENTED ACTIVITIES HERE HAS BEEN NOTICEABLE AND MORE THAN WE HAD EXPECTED.

3. EMBASSY IS UNABLE TO SEPARATE PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. AND ITS POLICIES BY GOL PERSONALITIES FROM THOSE OF POPULACE. IT HAS ONLY VAGUE VIEW OF U.S., AND TAKES ITS CUE FROM MEDIA, WHICH MAINLY REFLECT, AND RARELY DIVERGE FROM, PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S VIEW. MOJA AND APFA (MONROVIA 2814), FOR EXAMPLE, ARE MINUSCULE GROUP CONCENTRATED IN ACADEMIA AND LED BY YOUTHFUL FACULTY MEMBERS. OTHER GROUPS, SUCH AS LABOR UNIONS, PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, ETC., ARE NOT USED AS PLATFORMS FOR EXPRESSION OF

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POLITICAL VIEWS. PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. AND ITS POLICIES THAT COUNT ARE THOSE OF PRESIDENT AND HIS MINISTERS.

4. RELATIVE TO SECRETARY'S OBJECTIVES IN VISITING LIBERIA ARE FOLLOWING RATHER GENERALLY-HELD ATTITUDES HERE:

A. U.S.G., AND PARTICULARLY SECRETARY, HAVE NOT BEEN INTERESTED IN AFRICA. LIBERIANS THEMSELVES HAVE BEEN SUGGESTING VALUE OF

SECRETARIAL VISIT FOR SOME TIME AS NECESSARY TO BETTER UNDERSTANDING  
OF AFRICA AND ITS PROBLEMS.

B. U.S. HAS NOT DONE ENOUGH:

-- IN SOUTH AFRICA TO PUT PRESSURE ON SAG IN INTEREST OF  
ENDING APARTHEID AND ON AMERICAN BUSINESSES  
TO PLAY STRONGER ROLE IN WORKING TOWARD SAME END.

--IN RHODESIA (LIBERIANS WOULD BE GRATIFIED BY REFERENCE  
THERE TO AS ZIMBABWE), TO REPEAL BYRD AMENDMENT. LIBERIANS ARE  
AWARE OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH'S PUBLIC EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT REPEAL,  
BUT MANY BELIEVE THAT IF EXECUTIVE BRANCH PUSHED HARDER, IT COULD  
OVERCOME CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION.

-- IN NAMIBIA, TO PUT PRESSURE ON VORSTER TO PULL OUT. THIS VIEW  
AIMS NOT ONLY AT U.S. ACTIVITY IN ITSELF, BUT ALSO AT U.S. AS CAPABLE  
OF EXERTING INFLUENCE ON ITS NATO ALLIES TO DO SAME THING.

5. NOTWITHSTANDING NEGATIVE ATTITUDES MENTIONED PARAGRAPH 4, ABOVE,  
THERE IS EVERY INDICATION THAT SECRETARY'S VISIT WILL BE ENTHUSIASTI-  
CALLY AND GRACIOUSLY RECEIVED. JUDGING FROM PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S  
REMARKS AND DEMEANOR AT AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS-PRESENTATION CERE-  
MONY, GOL WILL GO ALL OUT  
TO ENSURE THAT VISIT IS A SUCCESS.  
CARTER

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